

The University of Chicago

AN APPROACH TO FICTION
THROUGH THE CHARACTERISTICS
OF ITS READERS

A PART OF A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE
LIBRARY SCHOOL IN CANDIDACY FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

1935

By
JEANNETTE HOWARD FOSTER

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Reprinted from
THE LIBRARY QUARTERLY
Vol. VI, No. 2, April, 1936

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JEANNETTE HOWARD FOSTER

PROBABLY the best introduction to the following study is an account of how it came to be made. During the year 1933-34 there were in progress in the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago five different projects¹ devoted to reading—the reading done by some twenty thousand persons in and outside of libraries. Since each was concerned with the nature of material read, some classification of printed matter was necessary. For non-fiction the accepted library schemes were available, but—as no public librarian will be surprised to learn—60-75 per cent of all reading was done in fiction, and thus distinctions in that field became imperative.

Because the distinctions needed were qualitative and few in number, the problem might at a glance appear simple. Librarians and other workers with literature possess a seasoned judgment adequate to the day's demands; indeed, set a group down with the average run of best-sellers and coincidence of opinion is likely to suggest no need of further criteria for literary quality. But require the same persons to formulate the principles underlying their judgments so that unpracticed assistants can apply them. Or with a few qualitative categories adopted, give the group a score of "borderline" titles to vote Up or Down without qualification. The result will surprise anyone who has not tried the game.

The reasons are simple enough. No generally accepted objec-

¹ (a) North Central Association, Survey. To be published by the University of Chicago Press; (b) Leon Carnovsky, "Community studies in reading. II. Hinsdale, a suburb of Chicago," *Library quarterly*, V (January, 1935), pp. 1-30; (c) Louis Round Wilson and Edward A. Wight, *County library service in the South: a study of the Rosendale County Library Demonstration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935); (d) Lee Wachtel, Study of Du Page County, Illinois. Unpublished; (e) South Chicago Study. Unpublished.

tive criteria exist for excellence in fiction. Critical and aesthetic value-theory is highly abstract and as diverse as the personal philosophies of its authors. It also rests fundamentally on the conception of literature as an art, whereas the great mass of popular fiction is written—and read—for reasons other than its literary value and receives comparatively little serious critical attention. In addition the inferior novel, itself neither intellectual nor impersonal in tone, seems especially prone to rouse personal reactions to its subject matter—a factor which modern psychology recognizes as more cogent in affecting literary judgment even than Matthew Arnold thought when he voiced his familiar warning against it.

As evidence that the problem is not simple, each of the five studies mentioned above, undertaken independently, developed a different system of classification for its fiction, ranging from the twofold division of the North Central Survey to two quite dissimilar five-category schemes employed by the Rosenwald and the South Chicago studies, respectively. From an abstract viewpoint all five were equally sound. To be sure something of their variety was due to difference of purpose, but mainly it resulted from fundamental differences in the bases of division on which the schemes were built. Thus any comparison of results was all but impossibly complex. And as the integration of reading studies is indispensable to successful cultivation of the field, the problem of unification assumed large importance.

The search for well-defined criteria of quality had been pursued to exhaustion in working out these five systems. Critical theory, specific book reviews, library catalogs, and other printed lists of “good” novels had all been tried and found helpful but finally indecisive. The only recourse seemed approach from a new and more objective angle—the nature of readers who choose given types of fiction. Treatment of reading data in all five studies showed that groups of people similar in sex, age, occupation, etc., tended toward similarity in general reading habits, just as Waples and Tyler’s *What people want to read about*² had

² Douglas Waples and R. W. Tyler, *What people want to read about* (Chicago: American Library Association and University of Chicago Press, 1931), chap. iv.

indicated earlier with respect to reading interests. Thus it seemed likely that further analysis of fiction according to the nature of groups reading it might shed light upon the difficulty.

As has been said, a large number of reading records had been collected. The groups for which records were easily available for use in the present study are given in Table I. All data were collected between November, 1933, and January, 1935.

TABLE I
READER GROUPS PROVIDING DATA FOR PRESENT STUDY

Group	Number of Readers
Residents of South Chicago, an industrial community of fairly low economic status and social organization	6,586
Patrons of three branches of the Chicago Public Library, most from a residence-hotel and apartment neighborhood distinctly superior to South Chicago	4,333
Residents of Evanston and Winnetka, wealthy suburban neighborhoods	792
Students in the upper three years of Bowen High School in South Chicago and of Evanston High School	1,283
Patrons of the Public Library of Hinsdale, Illinois, a prosperous suburban town of 6,900 in the metropolitan area of Chicago . . .	1,026
Residents of Morris County, New Jersey, comprising both rural and town population. No point in the county is strictly suburban to New York, though much of it lies in the metropolitan area	1,385
Total	15,285

Though this sample of readers, conspicuously urban and centered about Chicago, cannot pretend to represent American readers as a whole, it was considered sufficiently large and diverse to offer valuable material for study. This judgment was interestingly supported by discovery later that the authors most read by these readers were also most read by Canadian farmers in the Fraser Valley, British Columbia;³ by farm women in the Mississippi Valley;⁴ and by college students reporting from all

³ Unpublished data on community reading filed in the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago.

⁴ Lucille Reynolds, "Leisure-time activities of a selected group of farm women" (unpublished dissertation, Department of Home Economics, University of Chicago, 1935).

parts of the United States.⁵ The personal characteristics of these readers were accordingly analyzed in relation to the fiction they had read.

The intention was to choose units of fiction for study which would adequately represent the whole field and would at the same time be read by groups large enough for statistical treatment. The immediate problem became the definition of such units.

Ideally, single titles might seem desirable. Most novels, however, are sufficiently individual so that few principles could be safely induced from the study of any one of them, whatever care were exercised in selecting "typical" examples. Moreover it appeared unlikely from a practical standpoint that groups of statistically reliable size would have read just those books which would serve as types. Thus the use of subject classes seemed more plausible. Large categories, such as "Mystery," "Adventure," and "Romance," however, include such a variety as to defeat one of the main ends of the study—the clarifying of qualitative distinctions. And to the choice of smaller subject divisions almost insurmountable obstacles arose. Briefly, examination of subject indexes of fiction in the various library catalogs showed that possible categories range from objective units of locality or occupation to very general aspects of psychological approach. It also showed that frequently the same novel is indexed under two, three, or even four different small headings, for the normal tale is not a single-minded affair, but touches on several phases of human interest. Hence setting up mutually exclusive categories on a small-subject basis was hopeless.

Practically, then, the only unit remaining was the single author. That this choice is not ideal can easily be demonstrated by pointing to any single author whose work is diverse in both subject and quality. A careful consideration of such internal differences, however, reveals rather less contrast in quality than one at first believes and seldom as great difference in subject matter as that between one author and another. There was,

⁵ Letter from Professor Atwood Townsend of New York University to Professor Douglas Waples of the Graduate Library School, May 22, 1934.

moreover, support for the choice in the success of a study already made of readers in New York public libraries,⁶ in which consideration of a few highly popular authors of fiction and their readers, had revealed consistent group interests. Accordingly, authors were chosen as units for study.

Since the obvious basis for selection of authors was the number of their readers, it became necessary to decide what number should be required as a minimum. Statistical authorities consider forty cases "as few as can be expected to yield good results in experimental work,"⁷ but this dictum applies to random samples, whereas groups defined by common reading of an author were often fairly homogeneous. As the reliability of group averages depends upon group range in the factors under consideration, homogeneous groups much smaller than forty may show statistical constants with extremely low probable error.

Notwithstanding the thousands of readers on record, the adoption of forty as a minimum group would have reduced qualifying authors to about eighty in number, with noticeable concentration in the fields of mystery, western tales, and happy-ending romance. As is evident from Figure 1, the number of qualifying authors increases almost geometrically as the size of the reader-group is reduced; variety in quality and subject matter also increases. It was therefore desirable to set the group minimum as low as possible.

Since there were many factors under consideration (age, education, occupation, amount and quality of reading, etc.), it was evident that variations similar in direction, however slight, would reinforce one another and gain statistical significance.⁸ After some computation, therefore, ten readers was set as a minimum, though it was recognized that for groups of less than fifteen, findings must be more suggestive than final, and markedly heterogeneous small groups were disregarded. The applica-

⁶ Douglas Waples and R. W. Tyler, unpublished study of reading in five branches of the New York Public Library.

⁷ K. J. Holzinger, *Statistical methods for students in education* (Boston: Ginn, c. 1928), p. 19.

⁸ The probability of significance increases as the square of the number of factors varying in the same direction.

tion of this criteria to the reading records on hand resulted in a list of 254 authors, ranging in quality from Edgar Rice Bur-

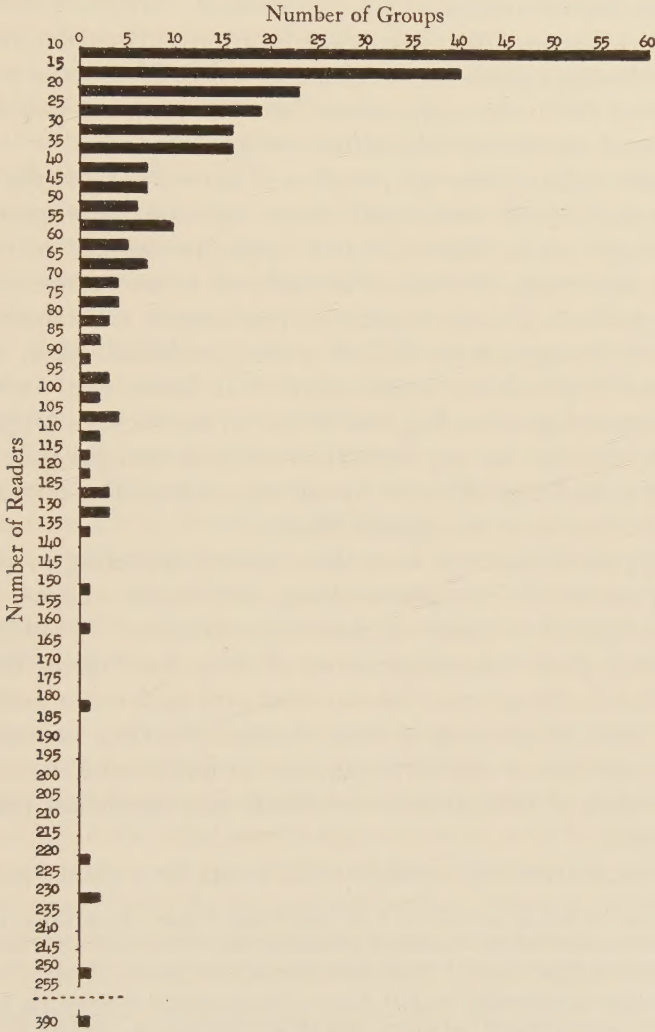


FIG. 1.—Distribution of author-groups by size

roughs to Tolstoi, and in number of readers from 395 (Zane Grey) to 10 (Ernest Poole and others). They are given in Appendix I by number of readers, with number of titles read, date of birth, sex, and nationality for each author.

TREATMENT OF DATA

With authors chosen for study, all readers of each were listed and their characteristics as a group studied. Information was available concerning their age, sex, education, occupation, reading done during a given two weeks, and source of material read. In order to facilitate comparisons between authors, the data were treated mathematically wherever possible.

For each author-group (i.e., readers of a given author) the following values were computed: mean age and interquartile range of age; mean education and range; percentage of male readers; percentage of readers in each of seven occupational classes (professional and executive, shop-keepers and salesmen, clerks and stenographers, skilled trades, unskilled labor, students, and housewives;⁹ mean number of books read in two weeks; percentage of reading which was (*a*) non-fiction, (*b*) good fiction, (*c*) inferior fiction, and (*d*) juvenile or near-juvenile fiction; and percentage of fiction by our selected authors obtained elsewhere than from the public library.

The 254 author-groups were then ranked according to their standing on each of the points above, and mean, median, and quartiles figured for each of these distributions.¹⁰ Finally, a contingency chart was constructed to show how many times each author in the selected list was read with each other author. These actual frequencies of coincidence were then compared with the expected or chance frequencies (a function of the number of readers of both authors involved) and significant pairs¹¹ were noted.

It will be interesting to stop at this point for a glance at the

⁹ Classification used in unpublished New York Public Library Study before cited. Although these classes cannot be assigned numerical values, the first five may be considered as in descending rank with regard to prerequisite training and financial returns.

¹⁰ For complete distributions see J. H. Foster, "An experiment in classifying fiction based on the characteristics of its readers," unpublished dissertation, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago, 1935.

¹¹ Those pairs were noted as significant in which the works of one author were read by readers of the other five or more times if this number constituted more than the expected frequency. These limitations were necessary because the statistically expected number was less than unity for pairs involving little-read authors and thus the necessarily whole number of actual coincidence, even if only one, became significant.

"average" reader and author—pictures constructed from the group averages with regard to all characteristics studied. The "general" reader is probably feminine (66 chances in a hundred); she is twenty-three and a half years old, has had three years in high school, and reads about three books a fortnight, two of them by authors in our list. Not quite once a month she reads a book of non-fiction (probably biography); about once a month she reads a "good" novel, but five books in seven are lighter fiction. She gets four-fifths of her reading from the public library. Similarly, the "typical" author is one who is read by forty-three persons in a fortnight—persons whose age averages twenty-three, whose education comes to about three years of high school (10.76 grades), and whose reading speed is three books in two weeks. Thirty-five per cent of his readers are male; nearly 50 per cent are students; 21 per cent are housewives, 6.3 per cent are engaged in the professions; 2.3 per cent are store-owners or salesmen; 5.2 per cent are clerks and stenographers; 5 per cent are in the skilled trades; and 4.9 per cent in unskilled labor. One-seventh of the reading of these forty-three people is non-fiction, one-seventh good fiction, and the rest poorer fiction, of which about one-sixth is juvenile or adolescent in level. Needless to say, no single actual author fulfils all these conditions.

Another point of interest appearing in connection with the authors chosen for study is their relation to the total number from which they were selected. This number was established by sampling of the total fiction files available, which gave us 1,940 writers, with a reader-total of 18,035. For our list the reader-total was 10,900. In comparison with all recorded fiction reading, then, our selected portion shows the following relations: The 254 most-read authors constitute 13 per cent of all authors read, and their readers 60.5 per cent of all fiction readers. The mean number of readers per author for our group is $\frac{10,900}{254}$ or 43; the mean number for the whole fiction count is $\frac{18,035}{1,940}$ or 9.3; and for the remainder outside our group $\frac{7,135}{1,686}$ or 4.23. Thus our study is directed toward only those authors who were read by more than the average number of readers.

READERS' RELATION TO AUTHOR READ

Any discussion of writers in terms of their readers assumes that individual differences in reading depend more upon the readers' personal characteristics than on other factors—an assumption which needs close scrutiny. Other influences which indubitably affect choice of reading are availability and external pressure.

Of availability no accurate measure was possible in the present study. That prolific authors have in general more readers than others is evident from the correspondence between number of readers per author and number of titles by that author actually read,¹² the latter being the only measure at hand of titles available. But the most prolific writers produce novels at their present rate because they are sure of sales, and these are a reflection of readers' choice. Thus number of titles per author becomes a progression indissolubly bound up with readers' tastes.

Titles actually read and volumes potentially available, however, are not the same; even though estimates of the latter must be very inaccurate, they are necessary. In accordance with the Chicago Public Library's present policy of reducing holdings in inferior fiction, worn copies of many authors in the lower quality levels are not replaced, and inspection of both shelf-list and shelves in early 1935 showed more volumes of McFee, May Sinclair, Sackville-West, Peterkin, Anatole France, Hemingway, Rose Macaulay, and Atherton—all in the lowest quarter of our list with respect to number of readers—than of Edgar Wallace, Carolyn Wells, Pedler, G. L. Hill, Curwood, Fletcher, Raine, Rohmer, or Seltzer from our most-read quarter. Public-library policy may be slightly less exacting elsewhere, but it is known to be more so at least in Evanston and Winnetka. It is probably safe to say that library availability bears little relation to the proportion of readers for writers in the lower levels of quality.

On availability from sources other than the public library there was even less check. An estimate of the stock of bookstores and rental libraries in each local community, even if possible, would have been an unjustified effort, for only about 20

¹² Correlation of 0.68.

per cent of all reading reported was obtained outside the library, and all the facilities of New York and Chicago were open to a good share of our readers, at least in theory. Non-library sources supplied most noticeably (1) the newest good fiction (Hervey Allen, Samuel Rogers, James Hilton); (2) the "classics" (George Eliot, Defoe, Dickens); (3) authors who might be considered dubious from the viewpoint of the conservative reader (James Joyce, Tiffany Thayer, Thorne Smith); and the oldest or poorest lighter material not much stocked by libraries (Edgar Rice Burroughs, Elinor Glyn). Tables from the general South Chicago Study showed that the first two types of books come from bookstores, rental, and home libraries; the last two from home and friends. A slight inverse ratio between the percentage of good fiction read and the percentage of reading obtained from the library¹³ indicates, as might be expected, that readers of the higher economic and social levels avail themselves more freely of outside facilities with expenditure attached, while others depend on the library for their reading matter, going without if what they want is not at hand rather than trying the better material waiting on the shelves.

External pressure may be counted as from roughly three sources: friends, publicity, and the schools. The first amounts to little more than a special case of availability. In general the taste of one's friends does not differ sharply from one's own, and books are seldom borrowed or lent without real interest on the reader's part. Advertising, including book jackets and sales display, gives current titles somewhat more than their intrinsic charm but seldom misleads a reader as to the general quality and subject-type of a novel, and it offers free choice among known authors. The insidious effect of publicity lies in the prestige value to the better class of reader of immediate acquaintance with the books of the moment. Even if it be prompted by an honest desire to subject a new author to personal appraisal, this "pressure" reading blunts the edges of distinction between readers of current authors varying widely in both subject and quality, as James Hilton, Samuel Rogers, and Lloyd Douglas.

¹³ Correlation of -0.245 .

Consequently, a certain reservation is necessary in judging the newer authors, especially those of a single title, by the characteristics of their readers.

That students are regularly required to read fiction of a quality and maturity not native to their own tastes would present an insurmountable difficulty, since they constitute 49 per cent of all our readers, but for the fact that they are also the heaviest readers and devour a large proportion of books which are patently independent of class requirements. Had the data in hand been collected expressly for the present study, required student reading might have been segregated. Since circumstances precluded this, the only solution was to make some allowance in the interpretation of age and type-of-reading averages for those author-groups with a large percentage of students and a visible discrepancy between the students and the rest of the group (e.g., Willa Cather, Zona Gale, Edith Wharton).

To a large extent it was found possible to detect pressure reading by a count of readers per title. Among the 254 authors, whose mean number of readers per title was six, those in Table II, and only those, had more than twice that number.

These authors are obviously of two classes—the very recent and the stock reading list for high-school students. Alcott, Clemens, and Lewis Carroll may be independent favorites, but the general level of juvenile reading in the South Chicago Study suggests some slight external pressure even in their cases; Defoe, Brontë, and Stowe are certainly “required.”

In view of the immense concentration shown above upon titles of the moment, it is interesting to discover that in the case of old favorites recency of publication has nothing to do with popularity. By way of making sure that the principle did not act on a diminishing scale for all novels, the four most-read contemporary writers with many titles—Zane Grey, Kathleen Norris, Booth Tarkington, and Temple Bailey—were made the subject of an experimental correlation between number of readers per title and date of publication of the title. There proved to be exactly as many readers for volumes published fifteen or

twenty years ago as for those appearing within the past three years.¹⁴

Granting availability and external pressure their share of influence, there still remain variations in choice of fiction authors to be explained by differences in readers. No claim is made that

TABLE II
AUTHORS WITH MOST READERS PER TITLE

Author	Number of Readers per Title
Alcott, L. M.	33*
Allen, Hervey.	180
Asch, Shalom.	38
Barnes, M. A.	29*
Beith, Janet.	26
Brontë, Charlotte.	12
Buck, Pearl.	18*
Carroll, G. H.	22
Carroll, L.	12*
Clemens, S. L.	22*
Defoe, Daniel.	12
Douglas, Lloyd.	18*
Fallada, Hans.	15
Hobart, A. T.	51
Joyce, James.	14
Miller, Carolyn.	29
Morgan, Charles.	22
Rogers, James.	12
Stowe, H. B.	21
Young, Stark.	14

* Indicates more than one title read.

the personal characteristics utilized in this study are the only or even the most important ones in determining that choice. More subjective traits, which psychologists yearly become more skillful in measuring, would undoubtedly correspond more closely to the subtle differences between one author and another and lead to closer and more accurate classification of authors through

¹⁴ Correlation between number of readers per title and date of publication per title was -0.139 ± 0.06 .

their readers. It is to be hoped that in time studies will be made on the basis of such traits, supporting such brilliant psychological analyses as those by Mr. Edmund Wilson and M. Janko Lavrin.²⁵

The present problem, however, was to discover constant relations between the known characteristics of readers and those of authors they read, especially the generally recognized quality and subject-types of the latter. In the establishment of these relations there has been some unavoidable tentative arguing in circles, but the end has been a fairly stable equilibrium. For example, on the basis of critical theory, certain reader-traits were assumed to have a natural relation to quality of fiction read. The only check for the assumption was comparison of author-groups' ratings in those respects with the author's literary standing. Where discrepancies appeared, every effort was made to detect influences affecting readers' free choice of the author. If none seemed adequate, the author's literary rating was tentatively called in question pending comparison with his score on other traits, singly and in combination.

Some of the differences among readers are more general than others and therefore determine large rather than specific choice of authors. One such is sex. Whatever may be its more subtle effects in combination with other factors, it is obvious that in general readers prefer fiction authors of their own sex, particularly male readers. Because only 33.5 per cent of the total reading was done by men, there is less than the apparent significance in the fact that no authors are without women readers, while ten have not a single male reader. That only one woman stands among the first sixty-four authors with respect to percentage of male readers is a fact of more importance. Women authors in the list number ninety-four and comprise 37 per cent of the total, so that twenty-four of them should have stood in that first fourth, had chance alone operated. Of the lowest fourth, with least men readers, forty-seven feminine authors make 73 per cent, or only twice the normal proportion, and among the last

²⁵ Edmund Wilson, *Axel's castle* (New York: Scribners, 1931); Janko Lavrin, *Studies in European literature* (London: Constable, 1929).

ten with no male readers there are three male authors. Women readers, then, show less tendency than their brothers to avoid writers of the opposite sex. There is, of course, an evident enough psychological reason: a good many men novelists are more intuitive and less aggressively masculine than the average of their sex, and so have more in common with women readers, while women novelists do not show intermediate tendencies to the same extent. In the matter of *number* of readers there seems to be no discrimination between the sexes; women authors were divided with absolute regularity among the four quarters of the size-of-group distribution.

Nationality is a characteristic with influence equally general. Of our 254 authors 58 per cent are American, 35 per cent British (including Canadian), and 7 per cent continental; readers of the American authors constitute 64 per cent, of the British authors, 31 per cent, and of the others, 4.3 per cent in the total reader-count. This same preference for writers of one's own nationality appears also in comparing our most-read authors (the upper quarter by number of readers) with the corresponding group from the Fraser Valley list previously mentioned. Of our first sixty-four, forty-one are Americans, twenty-three British; of their first sixty-one, thirty-eight are British or Canadian, twenty-three American.

More specific influence of nationality upon reading choice was evident in the cases of Reymont, Sienkiewicz, and Blasco-Ibañez, all of whom were read more in South Chicago than elsewhere, and by readers of lower educational and intellectual level than the quality of their writings would lead one to expect. Large Polish and Mexican groups in that neighborhood offer the explanation. Reymont's case is particularly interesting, for the quality of his work is very high and his narrative realistic and untinged with adventure, whereas the census tract from which his readers come shows a lower economic and social status than any other in the South Chicago Study. Reymont's readers are well above the general intellectual level of the tract, to be sure, but still considerably below those of Balzac or Feuchtwanger,

read elsewhere, whom they might be expected to equal or outrank.

Another interesting relation between author and readers appears in the ages of the most-read authors. Inspection of Appendix I will show that their birth-dates range from 1661 to 1902, but that there are few representatives near these extremes. For the purpose of making real rather than merely formal divisions, those born earlier than 1840 and later than 1890 were first singled out; that is, groups of which there are respectively none left living, and practically none yet deceased. The former were without exception authors of "classics," and it is not surprising, therefore, to find them read largely by students. Of the twenty-seven names in this group, twenty-one have more than 70 per cent student readers and four others more than 50 per cent. Tolstoi and Balzac alone are more frequently read by adults. The readers of this group, moreover, are fairly numerous.

The other end of the list presents a sharp contrast. Of the six who admit birth-dates since 1900, none have enough readers to enter the first quarter in the size-of-group list, and none but Tiffany Thayer attract any attention from students. The same is true of four or five others giving no date of birth who probably belong with them. It is perhaps not surprising that writers of thirty-five years or less have neither produced enough titles nor enjoyed publicity for a long enough time to reach the "general reader." It seems more strange to find but twenty-eight authors in the list born in the nineties, and none of them, either, among the most heavily read. (Five or six with no dates given probably also belong in this group, and share the same general characteristics.) These are people in their early forties, with notable work in print, who already seem to the cult of literary initiates slightly "dated." There is, however, a not too far-fetched explanation. They are the war generation and almost all realists, whether the realism be stern, flippant, or slightly cynical. The romantic flavor is conspicuous by its absence.

The intermediate years, 1840-90, were divided but once, at 1875, in an effort to separate the real contemporaries—people still writing, and of the temper of most mature adults—from

those who really constitute the grandparents of the present generation; that is, people over sixty, whose chief work is already done and whose youth passed with the turn of the century. Eighteen writers for whom date of birth is unknown make accurate comparison impossible, but dividing them equally between the two groups, a procedure not unfair to judge from their biographies in *Who's who*, the earlier group holds eighty-six authors and the later ninety-four. The balance of reader-group size is slightly in favor of the former, the balance of quality slightly with the latter. Without forcing undue significance from the picture, it can still be said to show fairly clearly the cultural lag common to all social phenomena. The best writers are always more advanced than their times in their thinking; they are not read at all generally until they become, safely in the past, curriculum material for their great-grandchildren. "General readers" prefer those authors who never thought dangerously and whose viewpoint is either their own or in the majority of cases that of their parents or grandparents.

RELATION OF FINDINGS TO CONVENTIONAL FICTION CLASSIFICATION

While authors' relations to readers as described above were intensely interesting in themselves, there still remained the problem of interpreting them in terms of quality and of subject-types, for these are after all the aspects of fiction which interest librarians and students of literature, and which underlie all attempts at classification. An effort was made, therefore, to outline generally accepted quality and subject divisions and to test their relative soundness as evidenced by the homogeneity of their readers' characteristics.

The compilation of a quality scale was necessarily a subjective process, the limitations of which have already been implied. Selective lists of novels, some hundreds of specific book reviews, and perhaps fifty volumes of current critical theory were examined,¹⁶ and those standards of excellence chosen which seemed

¹⁶ See Foster, *op. cit.*, chap. ii and Bibliography.

most generally accepted. A decade's experience in teaching literature contributed background for the selection.

In any practical qualitative scale, of course, classes must be few enough so that distinctions are not too finely drawn, and still be narrow enough that the difference between best and worst within each class works the least possible injustice on the former. Since this study included novels bordering on trash, six levels were considered feasible.

At the top stand writers who satisfy in some degree all requirements generally cited for greatness in literature: truth to human character and experience, gravity and breadth of theme, a freshness of insight which adds to the sum of human understanding, detachment without loss of emotional intensity, and beauty of expression. The class is small, and will tend to include more authors whose quality has stood the test of time than immediate contemporaries whose ultimate value it is so nearly impossible to judge (Hardy, Conrad, Anatole France).

Second will stand those writers whose understanding and expression is admirable, but who have less that is new to offer (Galsworthy); or who do not wholly succeed in balancing emotional and rational tendencies (e.g., Charlotte Brontë on the emotional and Rose Macaulay on the intellectual side); or those whose understanding does not extend to a wide range of human personality (Rosamond Lehmann); or such contemporaries as win immediate reputation but upon whose subject matter one can get no definite perspective (Charles Morgan).

In the third class fall those writers, still good, who through devotion to an abstract idea, a romantic conception, or merely a good yarn, take liberties with truth to life (H. G. Wells, Barrie, G. B. Stern); also those whose style leaves something to desire though their content may be of a higher level (Dreiser). Fourth stand the writers of most "best-sellers," that is, of stories good enough to enjoy critical mention, but of slight literary weight (Deeping, B. S. Aldrich, Ferber). Their difficulty is either limited insight or triteness of material, and their manner of writing lacks distinction. Fifth are those spinners of yarns emotional or hair-raising who show ingenuity of plot, some cleverness in

touching off dramatis personae, and occasional flashes of insight, but little truth to life and a plethora of wishful thinking (Kathleen Norris, Harold Bindloss, H. W. Morrow, Berta Ruck). At the end of the list one finds the type of wholesale sentimentality, sensationalism, or moralizing which is serialized in newspapers or cheaper magazines and circulated by the poorer drug-store rental libraries—stories in which there is little but plot; in which experience is distorted, the characters are hardly more than labeled costumes or attitudes, and the writing is careless or full of affectation (E. R. Burroughs, *et al.*).

The difficulty in applying such a scale of quality lies in the adoption of authors as units. Practically all writers vary in quality; the prolific especially are likely to fall below the standard of the novels upon which their reputation is generally based. The only recourse, for the purposes of this study, has been to judge a writer on the titles which were actually read (H. K. Webster on his detective stories more than on *The great adventure* or *Joseph Greer*; Kathleen Norris on her lighter output rather than on *Julie Page*).

For subject divisions of fiction there are three sources—classified catalogs or bibliographies, subject indexes in such library tools as fiction catalogs and the *Book review digest*, and literary studies of the technique of fiction. Tools of the first two sorts for the most part employ minute headings and distribute an inclusive list of novels among them; those of the third consider a few general types of subject and cite a limited number of examples. Both methods of treatment proved suggestive in dealing with the present problem.

From several of the most inclusive indexes (those in the *Standard catalog: Fiction section*,¹⁷ Baker's *Guide to the best fiction*,¹⁸ and the *Book review digest*¹⁹) a complete subject list of nearly four hundred items was compiled. This was sifted to

¹⁷ *Standard catalog for public libraries: Fiction section*, 2d ed. rev. (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1931).

¹⁸ E. A. Baker, *Guide to the best fiction* (London: Routledge, 1913).

¹⁹ *Book review digest*: 17th, 22d, 27th, 29th annual cumulations (1921, 1928, 1931, 1933), subject indexes.

eliminate too minute or overlapping divisions, sorted into related groups, and organized under such broad terms as constituted main headings, many of them taken from the list though not so used there. Attention was centered on covering the whole field of fiction and providing categories broad enough to accommodate not titles, as do the indexes, but authors, classed by their main subject tendencies.

The result was an outline with eighteen subject classes which had appeared consistently in all indexes and were felt to be of approximately parallel importance, grouped under seven large headings. As given here no smaller subjects from the indexes appear, but none of them is without its logical place in the scheme.

I. *Plot stories*

Novels characterized by action and suspense, subjective features and setting subordinate

1. Detective and mystery: not to include ghost and horror tales with "atmosphere" predominant (Van Dine, Sax Rohmer)
2. Adventure: western, sea, aviation, war, etc. Action more direct and violent than picturesque and romanticized (Zane Grey, L. Nason)
3. Romance: heroic and romantic action, including that in historical setting when the latter is stage property rather than history

II. *Love and happy-ending stories*

Novels with emphasis on emotional interest, but not psychological or analytic in treatment

4. Love stories: including both every-day settings (K. Norris) and romantic or exotic settings (F. Barclay, B. Ruck)
5. Cheerful stories: pleasant and comparatively light, without tragedy or intense emotional crises. Some border on humor (T. B. Aldrich, A. D. Miller)

III. *Humorous and satiric stories*

Novels comparatively scant in emotional or romantic appeal, including "sophisticated novels," i.e., those consciously without illusion, lightly ironic

6. Humorous (O. R. Cohen, Clemens)
7. Satiric and sophisticated (A. France, M. Arlen)

IV. *Supernatural stories*

Ghost and horror tales, psychic phenomena, occult sciences, insanity, dual personality, fantasy

8. Uncanny tales; primary purpose to inspire horror (Poe, B. Stoker)
9. Fantasy; the unexplained (R. Nathan, C. Morley, J. Stephens, D. Garnett)

V. *Problem novels*

Novels in which argument or abstract idea is discernible in greater or less degree. Not to include all novels showing consciousness of serious issues, as those of Galsworthy

10. Philosophical issues: religious, ethical, personal adjustment (D. C. Fisher, R. H. Benson)
11. Political and economic issues (U. Sinclair, H. Fallada)
12. Social issues (H. G. Wells, H. Gibbs)

VI. *Character and psychological studies*

Novels chiefly interested in development and interrelation of human personalities

13. Character: growth or change of one or more characters, presented with comparative objectivity (Thackeray, S. Lewis)
14. Family chronicles: development of a family over more than one generation (Galsworthy, De la Roche)
15. Psychological: highly subjective treatment of group relations (A. D. Sedgwick, M. Sinclair) and autobiographic or stream-of-consciousness portrayal of individuals (V. Woolf, R. Lehmann)

VII. *Stories involving special groups or backgrounds*

Novels conditioned by the nationality, occupation, race, locality, or period of the characters involved

16. Groups: includes occupational groups (Rolvaag, Reymont); special nationalities or races (La Farge, Buck); and animals treated as persons (Terhune, Salten)
17. Setting: geographical district, "local color"; also metropolitan, small town, or rural life and school stories (L. J. Miln, Stribling)
18. Historical novels: showing with comparative fidelity the period in which laid and written as much from interest in history as in plot (H. Quick, T. Wilder)

The 254 authors under consideration were now distributed among the quality levels and subject classes and entered upon a table showing both distributions simultaneously (Table III). Their assignment to a given position was based on first-hand acquaintance with nearly all titles read, on opinions solicited at every opportunity from students of literature and librarians, and on wide examination of reviews and fiction indexes. Nevertheless, it is expected that no single person will agree with the placing of all authors on the list. Such individual difference of opinion is inevitable. There is evident, however, one general weakness perhaps inherent in any scheme imposing rigid division upon intangible elements—that is, writers who fall into a given quality level by comparison with others in the same sub-

ject class are not wholly on a par with writers assigned to the same level in a class of greater dignity, and yet neither are they sufficiently variant to warrant a different quality level. Despite this limitation, as a tool for testing author relations to reader characteristics the chart was felt to be workable.

As was suspected when subject classes were outlined, certain of them well enough populated in fiction indexes were so sparsely represented by authors in our list that if the latter happened also to have few readers, the reader-total became unreliable for class comparisons. Poe, for example, stood alone in the "Uncanny" group, and was accordingly moved into "Detective and Mystery," the only member of the class above the third quality level. His readers, however, being few, young, and mostly students, did not much affect the average of this class.

The three authors under "Fantasy"—Morley, Nathan, and Lewis Carroll—were tentatively transferred to the "Satiric" class, though separate counts were kept for them and compared with others in the group. Considering the strong tinge of satire in all three men, less violence was done to the principle of the classification than had Elinor Wylie, James Stephens, or Sylvia Townsend Warner been involved. From examination of the few readers of these latter authors and certain others in our files, it seemed likely that the two classes ought not to be permanently amalgamated.

The final difficulty arose with the three authors under "Social Issues," all of whom had very few readers. Logically a combination with "Political and Economic Issues" was sound, but the age difference between the two reader-groups was considerable, "Social Issues" interesting a decidedly younger group. Similarity on other scores made combination possible for purposes of this study, but not permanently advisable. The final working distribution of fifteen subject classes appears in Table III.

RELATION OF READERS' CHARACTERISTICS TO QUALITY

Readers' personal characteristics were tested for relation to author's quality by averaging the standings of authors in each of the six quality levels and comparing the group values for each

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF AUTHORS ACCORDING TO SUBJECT CLASSES AND QUALITY LEVELS

SUBJECT CLASS	QUALITY LEVEL					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Detective	Adams Eberhart Freeman Keeler Lincoln, N. S. Packard Rohmer Vance Wells, C. Wentworth	Biggers Christie Fletcher Oppenheim Plum Wallace, E. Austin, A.	Collins Doyle Le Blanc Rinehart Stewart Van Dine Webster, H. K. Phillpotts		Poe	
2. Adventure	Bower Beach Burroughs Connor Cullum Hendryx Knibbs Raine Seltzer	Ames Bindloss Gregory Grey Haggard Marshall Morrow Mulford Spearman Kyne	Davis Dumas Garstin Komroff London Nason Verne White	Buchan Kipling McFee Nordhoff and Hall	Defoe Masefield Stevenson	Melville
3. Romance	Chambers Curwood McCut- cheon McGrath Hope-Haw- kins Wright Fox	Farnol McCarthy Parrish, R. Wren Burnett, F. H. Sabatini	Ford Locke Major	Allen Blackmore Byrne		
4. Love	Barclay Dell Reed Porter, G. S. Hill-Lutz Prouty Pedler Loring Oemler	Norris, K. Bailey Baldwin Richmond Ruck Widdemer	King Deeping Hurst Ferber	Barrie	Brontë	
5. Cheerful	Porter, E. H. Hueston Montgom- ery Rice	Webster, J. Miller, A. D. Wiggin Train	Lincoln, J. C. Hannay Rosman Alcott Arnim	Aldrich, T. B. Priestley Henry, O Tarkington		
6. Humorous	Cohen, O. R.	Smith, T.	Stockton Wodehouse		Clemens	
7. Satiric	Kelland Roche Chamber- lain	Thayer Arlen	De la Pas- ture	Erskine Parrish, A. Morley Nathan	Macaulay Carroll, L.	France
8. Character		Brush Fairbank Corbett Burnett, W. R.	Stone Ashton Baum Thompson Young, F. B. Carroll, G. H. Deland	Bromfield Dickens Dreiser Balzac Lewis Glasgow Beith Gale	Bennett Eliot Hugo Hemingway Remarque Maugham	Maupassant Thackeray Austen, J.

TABLE III—Continued

SUBJECT CLASS	QUALITY LEVEL					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Family		Aldrich, B. S.	Barnes Bentley Kennedy Suckow Jameson	Stern De la Roche Dane Walpole	Galsworthy Undset Lagerlöf	
10. Psychological		Glaspell Wilson	Hull Ostenso Bottome Young, E. H.	Milne, A. A. Swinnerton Hergesheimer Poole Sinclair, M. Ertz	Sedgwick Rogers Wharton Lehmann Sackville- West	Joyce Conrad Woolf
11. Philosophical Problems	Burnham Martin	Douglas Benson	Gibbs, P.	Fisher, D. C. Hilton	Morgan Hawthorne Blasco- Ibañez	Tolstoi Hardy
12. Social and Political Problems	Dixon	Stowe	Norris, C. Sinclair, U.	Gibbs, A. H. Wells, H. G. Norris, F.	Fallada Feuchtwanger	
13. Special Groups	Terhune	Jackson, H. H.		Peterkin LaFarge Asch	Reymont Buck	
14. Setting		James Eggleston	Burke Stribling Miln, L. J. Crawford	Hobart Kaye-Smith Heyward	Cather Hudson Young, S. Rolvaag	
15. Historical	Hough Wallace, L.	Wister Page Bacheller	Atherton Beck Johnston Roberts Churchill	Miller, C. Boyd Cooper	Wilder Sienkiewicz Scott	

characteristic. The results appear in Tables V–VIII. The first point of interest is the proportion of all reading which falls in

TABLE IV
SIZE OF QUALITY GROUPS

Size of Level	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6
Number of authors	49	50	61	48	36	10
Average size of author-group	37.8	55.0	41.5	42.9	39.8	26.8
Number of readers in level	1,854	2,752	2,532	2,060	1,433	268
Percentage of total readers	17.0	25.2	23.2	18.9	13.1	2.5

each level (Table IV). These percentages suggest a normal distribution from which, in cutting off authors with less than ten recorded readers, we removed a part from Level 6 and an entire

corresponding group at the lower end of the scale. This suggestion was supported by inspection of the residual fiction files.

TABLE V
QUALITY VERSUS PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF READERS

Characteristics	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6
Age.....	23.6	23.0	26.3	27.3	27.4	25.7
Semi-interquartile-range age.....	5.7	5.4	6.8	6.9	7.2	4.5
Education.....	10.4	10.6	11.1	11.8	12.0	12.5
Semi-interquartile-range ed- ucation.....	1.42	1.30	1.47	1.53	1.53	1.40

TABLE VI
QUALITY VERSUS PERCENTAGE OF READERS IN GIVEN OCCUPATIONS

Occupations	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	All Levels
Professional.....	4.4	5.3	8.0	10.5	8.9	9.4	6.3
Shopkeepers and salesmen.....	2.1	2.3	2.8	3.0	2.3	3.5	2.3
Skilled trades.....	7.6	5.4	4.5	4.7	3.1	4.7	5.0
Unskilled labor.....	7.3	5.1	5.1	3.3	3.3	3.4	4.9
Stenographers and clerks.....	5.7	6.0	5.5	5.3	6.5	5.4	5.2
Students.....	46.0	51.8	39.5	37.2	46.0	47.1	49.5
Housewives.....	20.3	16.7	29.0	32.0	25.3	18.0	21.0
Male readers.....	35.5	36.5	28.5	26.3	31.2	31.9	33.5

TABLE VII
QUALITY VERSUS PERCENTAGES OF OTHER READING DONE

Other Reading	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6
Non-fiction.....	10.7	11.9	15.8	22.6	24.8	31.6
Good fiction.....	8.8	11.5	17.2	22.8	28.4	35.4
Poorer fiction.....	79.9	76.1	66.0	54.5	46.7	32.9
Adolescent fiction.....	11.6	12.6	8.6	8.2	4.7	4.2
Number of books read.....	3.25	3.18	3.00	3.13	3.07	3.03
Percentage non-library sources...	14.7	13.8	14.0	22.0	27.1	35.5

Dostoevsky, Flaubert, Unamuno, Thomas Mann, Sterne, Katherine Mansfield, Norman Douglas, and Henry James were all on record with from two to nine readers each. There were also a large number of titles of the quality of Level I and lower,

the sort of material found in cheap drug-store rental collections: *Mardi-Gras madness*, *Boy crazy*, *Extra girl*, *Scarlet pansy*, written over such flamboyant pen-names as "June Jennifer," and all put out by one or two publishing houses without established reputation. To be sure there were also authors in the intermediate quality levels with less than ten readers, but their reader-groups would merely have raised the mode and not appreciably altered the figure of the distribution. While it is dangerous to generalize from no better knowledge of our curve, it is tempting to see in it an approximation to the normal distribution of intelligence.

Inspection of the other tables (V, VI, VII) shows that some characteristics or attainments are much more closely related to quality than others. Literary excellence, implying as it does both dignity of subject and artistry of expression, demands maturity and in general some aesthetic training for its appreciation. Thus one would expect age and education of readers to rise in direct proportion to quality of reading. This proved true, and the progression was smooth with the exception of Level 5, which fell lower than Level 4 on this and several other counts. Examination of the personnel of the two groups showed that Level 5 contained among its thirty-six authors nine of those most read by students, while Level 4 had but three—Barrie, Cooper, and Kipling—among its forty-eight. Also in Level 6 Melville was found to be very much below all the upper-level values in most of his averages. Consequently, for all factors which showed any connection with quality, new means were figured for Levels 5 and 6, omitting Melville from the latter and from the former the five most "juvenile" authors, i.e., those whose readers' averages were lower than Level 3 in age, education, and other reading.²⁰ These deleted authors were not added to the quality levels appropriate to their averages thus reckoned by reader characteristics, but merely removed temporarily from consideration in adult fiction.

Because readers' ranges in age and education had appeared on first inspection of reading data to bear some relation to choice of

²⁰ L. Carroll, Clemens, Defoe, Poe, Stevenson.

reading, these two values were compared to quality. Range of age showed a positive relation. Persons capable of appreciating the best are found in all age levels, while inferior material attracts more homogeneous groups because of its more personal appeal. Students are always concentrated within a fairly narrow age-range, of course, but the more advanced who read fiction of the highest quality show more variety in age than do those in lower educational levels. Therefore, though the percentage of student readers in Level 6 was high, they were of a maturity and diversity not to vitiate the range relationship.

Range of education does not appear from Table V to have much bearing on quality, but upon inspection of the total distribution²¹ the reason was seen to lie in a double and compensating relation: authors of the highest quality appear at both ends of the education-range list but not in the middle. That is, the authors in Levels 5 and 6 are divided into those whose readers vary widely in education, and those whose student-readers make their range narrow. Thus it is just as with age, voluntary readers of the best appreciate it regardless of amount of education; but student concentration naturally shows more sharply here than in the age distribution.

Occupational variations with respect to quality were interestingly irregular. Since no author-groups were removed from these averages, the large number of students in the highest level reduced the percentage of other occupations in that group. No occupational count increased regularly with quality, but by comparing the six groups divided into halves or thirds, definite tendencies could be detected.

Readers of the professional rank showed the sharpest increase with quality, for the years of training required would give the professions weight in any scale where age and education were significant. The shop-owning and salesman class showed the same tendency, though with less marked increase in the upper two levels.

Both skilled trades and unskilled labor showed larger percentages of readers in the lower than in the higher levels, with

²¹ See Foster, *op. cit.*, Appendix VI.

the balance of quality in favor of the skilled workers. The failure of both group-percentages to diminish as the others did at Level 6 possibly indicates freedom from the prestige influence operating on books of the moment, most of which fall in Levels 3-5 and swell them with economically higher readers. That is, when these workers read very good material, they do so because they want to and not because it is expected of them. These two groups have the highest percentage of male readers, and the total distribution of men, like these, is weighted at both ends and light in the middle levels.

Housewives show a tendency opposite to the preceding groups, reading much more heavily in the middle quality-levels. Strictly speaking, these married women, making up a fifth of all readers, are not so much a homogeneous group as a cross-section of the female population. Thus their relation to the male readers is doubly interesting. The inverse variation parallels that observed by educators between the general intelligence of the two sexes. Women students prove slightly more intelligent on the average, but men show greater extremes of intelligence. Added to the sex difference in the case of the housewives, or perhaps a function of it, is the certain influence of pressure-reading. All those authors of the moment who were detected by number of readers per title as having high prestige value stand at the top of the list in percentage of housewife readers. Interestingly enough, readers belonging to the professional group appear less susceptible to fashionable pressure, the same authors standing lower in their percentage list. Since they are 67 per cent male, this fact emphasizes the likelihood that susceptibility to fashion in reading is a predominantly feminine trait.

Students showed in an exaggerated degree the same tendency as male readers; the largest proportion is found in the lowest and highest levels. In their case the reasons are probably different, however. Reading in the upper levels is almost certainly connected with class requirement, though the higher the level the more consistently is all their reading good. Heavy reading in the low levels results in part from the fact that all near-juvenile books are located there. This does not mean that all adolescent

books are intrinsically bad, but that their immaturity debars them from high position in an adult quality-scale. They were retained in the study from the beginning because many of them are widely read by adults, and it was felt that this fact would help to characterize other fiction read by the same readers.

Clerks and stenographers showed perhaps the least obvious distribution of the lot. They are divided equally between the three upper and the three lower levels, but show slight weighting in 1 and 2, 5 and 6, and lightness in 3 and 4, thus suggesting the student and male pattern. They are the only group to read more in Level 5 than any other and to show a second mode at Level 2. In this respect they run parallel to the distribution of near-juvenile reading and to no other. Inasmuch as they include more unmarried readers than any other group except students and are the youngest with the same exception, it is interesting to speculate upon possible significance here, since they are free of the school pressure which urges adult reading on the student group. They are also divided about equally between the two sexes.

If any generalizations can be made from occupational percentages in the various quality levels, the most likely of them seems that known sex and inferred educational and economic status account for most of the variation in reading quality. If occupation as such has influence on reading, the nature of that influence will appear in the study of subject classes.

Sources of reading showed the inverse ratio between quality and percentage of material obtained from the public library which was mentioned and in part explained in the discussion of external pressures. The fact that removal of authors with many student readers from Level 5 increased the weight of the public library as a source suggests that some of these deleted works came from school libraries, which were not included in our public-library count. On the supposition that books of the moment particularly increase non-library percentage, one would expect the heaviest non-library values for Levels 4 and 5 rather than for Level 6. But the presence of James Joyce, evidently not widely stocked by public libraries (the only title read was *Ulys-*

ses), accounts for the group's high figure. Eighty-six per cent of Joyce's readers secured his works from sources other than the public library. Without him, the Level 6 percentage would be 28 per cent, like that of Level 5.

Speed of reading is a point of particular interest in view of the general belief that the most rapid readers are "good" readers. According to our figures the honors lie with the other camp, Level I showing a 5 per cent lead over any other. With the relative values falling as erratically as they do, however, it is unsafe to predicate much if any connection between quality and number of books read. One certainly emerged in the course of removing student readers from the upper two groups: required reading is done slowly and (no doubt) laboriously. Level 5's

TABLE VIII

CORRELATION OF TYPES OF READING MATTER READ
WITH EACH AUTHOR

Good fiction with inferior fiction.....	$r = -.776 \pm .016$
Non-fiction with inferior fiction.....	$r = -.765 \pm .017$
Good fiction with non-fiction.....	$r = -.406 \pm .035$

average rose from 2.96 to 3.07 books in two weeks and Level 6's from 2.97 to 3.03 with the deletion of the six student-read authors named above.

The final factor measured against quality was other reading done by the readers of each author. That the percentage of good fiction should be directly, and of both inferior and near-juvenile fiction inversely, proportional to quality was not surprising, considering that all three classifications were based on a common scale of literary value. The direct relation of non-fiction was also expected, since librarians accord it superiority. But that the gradations should be so regular and so marked strengthens our confidence in our value scale, removing the suspicion that the subjectivity necessary in its construction might have made it unsound.

The relations among fiction, non-fiction, and inferior fiction in concomitant reading were particularly interesting in view of recurrent discussion as to the relative merits of the first two.

Their respective ratios to percentage of poor fiction were worked out and were found to be of course inverse, and almost identical in value. They also stood in inverse ratio to each other. This triple relation, expressed specifically in the following correlations, cannot be illustrated in a two-dimensional chart, but is approximately indicated in Figure 2.

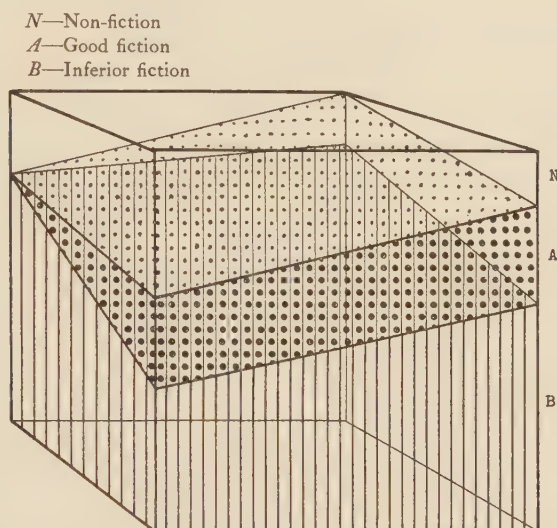


FIG. 2.—Inverse ratios among percentages of three types of reading. Diagram suggestive only, not mathematically accurate.

READERS' CHARACTERISTICS AND SUBJECT CLASSES

As with respect to quality, the comparative size of subject classes is of interest (Table IX). Adventure outranks every other class by 50 per cent in number of readers and by 20 per cent in number of authors. Detective and love stories stand next, and other than these only cheerful stories, romance, and character studies are above the average (726 readers). The character class stands second in number of authors. Social and political problems interest by far the smallest number, having 20 per cent fewer readers than the class next in size, humor.

The adventure class is lowest in mean age of readers (20.6) and also in the range of age to which it appeals, and it is second

TABLE IX
SIZE OF SUBJECT CLASSES

Size	Detective	Adventure	Romance	Love	Cheerful	Humorous	Satiric	Character	Family	Psychological	Philosophical Problems	Social and Political Problems	Special Groups	Setting	Historical
Number of authors.	26	35	19	21	17	5	13	28	13	20	12	9	7	13	16
Average group	51.5	57.1	43.8	65.0	58.9	52.0	21.1	33.3	46.8	23.6	31.5	21.9	39.4	32.9	32.4
Number of readers . . .	1,340	2,001	833	1,367	1,001	260	275	933	609	472	378	197	276	428	519
Percentage of total.	12.29	18.35	7.64	12.54	9.18	2.38	2.52	8.56	5.58	4.33	3.46	1.81	2.53	3.92	4.76
*Index	1.84	2.75	1.14	1.88	1.37	0.35	0.38	1.28	0.84	0.65	0.52	0.27	0.38	0.59	0.71

* Number of readers divided by average (726).

lowest in education (Table X). Cheerful stories occupy the lowest place in the education list; humor and love stories show the smallest range in education among their readers. Detective story readers make a more mature showing, standing sixth from the bottom in education and seventh in age, and one rank lower in the respective readers' ranges.

The most mature reader groups are those interested in family chronicles and psychological novels, though character studies, satire, all the problem novels, and stories with special setting have readers averaging more than twenty-five years of age. The same groups show high education averages in very nearly the same order. Interesting enough, among these better subject classes the readers in social and political problems are the youngest and least advanced in formal education. Widest age-range is found among readers of family, psychological, and philosophical novels and stories of special setting.

The types of other reading done by readers of each class follow in general the pattern one would expect from age and education averages and the distribution of student readers given below, but not entirely (Table XI). Notably, detective stories and romance are the diet of readers who, though neither the youngest nor least educated, show least interest in good reading. It will be seen later, also, that these classes do not attract any large percentage of readers belonging to the professional group. This fact is of interest in view of the opinion current among both librarians and laymen that college professors and business executives are among the heaviest mystery readers. To be sure they read detective stories, but not to the extent that several other groups do. Their reputation resembles that of Dr. Johnson's famous performing dog: "The wonder is that they do it at all." Adventure, cheerful, and love stories are but little better than mystery with respect to their readers' literary taste. Family chronicles make the best showing, with character studies second, and stories of special groups third, all three outranking psychological novels, which stand higher on other quality counts. Problem novels and stories of setting also rank fairly well.

TABLE X
SUBJECT CLASSES AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF READERS

	Detective	Adventure	Romance	Love	Cheerful	Humorous	Satiric	Character	Family	Psychological	Philosophical Problems	Social and Political Problems	Special Groups	Setting	Historical
Age.....	24.7	20.6	23.1	24.0	21.4	22.8	26.4	26.2	31.0	29.8	27.2	26.9	24.2	26.9	23.8
S.Q.R.* age.....	5.5	4.7	5.2	6.5	5.3	4.9	6.1	6.7	9.5	8.3	7.2	5.7	5.6	7.0	4.8
Education.....	10.8	10.2	10.5	10.7	9.8	11.0	11.5	11.8	12.6	12.0	11.6	11.4	11.5	11.6	10.7
S.Q.R.* ed.....	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.2	1.3	1.1	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.3

* Semi-interquartile range.

TABLE XI
SUBJECT CLASSES VERSUS TYPES OF OTHER READING DONE*

	Detective	Adventure	Romance	Love	Cheerful	Humorous	Satiric	Character	Family	Psychological	Philosophical Problems	Social and Political Problems	Special Groups	Setting	Historical
Non-fiction readers.....	.76	.96	.89	.75	.71	1.25	1.07	1.45	1.54	1.49	1.50	1.87	1.80	1.44	1.53
Good fiction.....	.70	.73	.73	.98	.93	.89	1.57	1.81	2.25	1.74	1.65	1.18	1.46	1.69	1.06
Poorer fiction.....	1.10	1.06	1.08	1.04	1.04	.97	.99	.72	.64	.75	.77	.79	.75	.77	.88
Adolescent fiction.....	.61	1.17	1.18	.74	2.16	1.08	.72	.42	.24	.35	.59	.71	1.13	.60	.88
Number of books read....	3.2	3.0	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.2	3.0	3.3	3.1	3.0	3.1	2.9	2.8
Percentage non-library sources.....	.47	.72	.82	.75	.71	1.43	1.22	1.25	1.13	.95	1.19	.94	1.33	.98	1.05

* Percentage in each class divided by average per cent.

Non-fiction is most read by people interested in social and political problems, and next by those interested in special groups. No other classes approach these within 15 or 16 per cent. Family chronicles, and historical, psychological, and philosophical novels are read along with non-fiction most often after these two; cheerful, love, and detective stories least often.

Good fiction is most enjoyed by readers of the large character group, especially family chronicles; next by readers of philosophical problems and special setting stories. It is least often read with detective stories, adventure, and romance.

Adolescent and juvenile fiction is most read with cheerful stories, romance, adventure, and special groups. (Terhune and H. H. Jackson are responsible for this last class-average.) It is least read with family, psychological, and philosophical novels, and detective stories.

Reading speed is highest in classes at what might be called opposite ends of the class list: psychological novels, character studies and satire, and romance and detective stories. Historical novels and stories of special setting are read by least rapid readers—or probably read least rapidly as a class.²² The source distribution shows that the public library supplies more than the average proportion of novels in the lower classes, especially detective stories, but on the other hand it also furnishes the greater proportion of psychological novels, social- and political-problem stories, and stories of setting. The greatest number of humorous stories, special-group stories, character studies, and satiric tales, in that order, come from sources other than the public library.

SUBJECT CLASSES AND SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Occupational groups showed only sporadically more relation to subject classes than sex, age, and education would account for. Student reading runs fairly parallel to the distribution of adolescent reading already mentioned. Students read most heavily in cheerful stories, adventure and romance, and historical novels. They are least interested in family chronicles, psy-

²² Influence of student required reading.

TABLE XII
SUBJECT CLASSES VERSUS READERS OF GIVEN SEX AND OCCUPATIONS*

	Detective	Adventure	Romance	Love	Cheerful	Humorous	Satiric	Character	Family	Psychological	Philosophical Problems	Social and Political Problems	Special Groups	Setting	Historical
Professional.....	.90	.73	.92	.51	.58	.76	1.57	1.44	1.74	1.90	1.62	1.30	1.01	2.49	1.09
Shopkeepers and salesmen	1.39	.69	.69	.87	.56	1.65	1.39	1.35	1.56	1.52	1.04	2.87	.39	.61	1.04
Skilled trades.....	1.48	1.52	1.22	.54	.70	1.74	1.78	.84	.90	.66	.84	1.10	.70	.44	.58
Unskilled labor.....	1.35	1.32	.92	1.26	.79	1.45	.94	.73	.67	.83	1.02	.87	.69	.71	.81
Stenographers and clerks	1.00	.81	.88	1.07	.79	1.90	1.46	1.21	1.25	1.52	1.78	.79	1.36	.92	.90
Students.....	.89	1.17	1.12	.92	1.24	.92	.66	.75	.44	.48	.69	.74	.92	.81	1.11
Housewives.....	.96	.56	.80	1.34	.86	.65	1.31	1.46	2.07	1.75	1.41	1.50	1.26	1.19	.94
Male readers.....	1.22	1.74	1.10	.37	.55	1.34	.86	.72	.55	.61	.62	.92	.78	.80	1.25

* Percentage reading in each class divided by average per cent.

chology, and satire, subjects appealing most strongly to the mature. Detective stories stand in the middle of their list.

Housewives' interest in novels of family life is among the outstanding preferences in the list; more than twice the average percentage of married women read these stories.²³ This very high score cannot be taken as entirely dependent on the nature of the subject-class, however, for all but two of the writers in the class are women, and several titles are recent enough to give their authors additional prestige value. Housewives are also extremely interested in psychological studies and in social and political problems, classes of novels where outside influences are less potent. Their interest in the last-named class is particularly significant inasmuch as it contains no women authors. Character studies and philosophical problems stand next in housewives' interest. They care least for adventure and humor, little for romance and cheerful stories, and only slightly more than students for detective stories. More than the average number read novels of special setting and groups, and the younger read love stories.

Indeed, one of the surprising facts to emerge from the subject study is that a larger proportion of housewives read love stories than of any other reader-group. There is a current notion that high-school girls and other unmarried young women are the chief consumers of this type of story, and the general South Chicago figures show that "confession" magazines do circulate mainly among young single women in that locality. There is a possible explanation for our present figures, however. The novels classed as love stories make up the majority of serials in women's magazines, and while such reading was reported as magazine reading, and only separate book material recorded among our novels, it may be that intellectually indifferent women know only such authors as their periodicals introduce them to, and go to other sources for more of their work. Strictly speaking, the distinction between love stories and those classed in the character group, moreover, is in part one of quality rather than wholly one of kind. What gives the character

²³ See Table XII.

group its superiority is greater honesty, attention to more elements of experience than the obvious emotional adjustment between two individuals, and above all a certain externality which prevents complete identification of the reader with the personality of the heroine.²⁴

Male readers present the expected contrast to housewives. They read most heavily in adventure, historical novels, and humor, with detective stories and romance following. They are pointedly uninterested in love stories and comparatively so in cheerful tales and family chronicles. No more than the average number read about social and political problems—at least not in fiction. It is plain that between men and women readers the outstanding difference is one of objectivity. Men like stories involving physical action and external clash of personalities, detective stories, in which the problem is relatively intellectual and impersonal; and romance and historical novels, which are more often than not of the adventure type. Of the four they care least for the most emotional, romance. General problems they attack directly in non-fiction, whereas women apparently approach them largely through the medium of the novel; women also show greater preference for the philosophical type of fiction, which deals more with individual adjustment than do social and political novels. It is tempting to make a point of the inverse sex interest between humor and satire, men preferring the direct laugh and women the more subtle irony; but the preponderance of women writers in our satiric group and their absence from the humorous one clouds the issue. Of course it is obvious, however, that women readers prefer writers of their own sex quite as much from community of interests as from pure sex loyalty.

²⁴ The literature of escape is distinguished by the author's identification of himself with his hero or heroine, which leads to the same identification in the reader. "The continued success of my books may lie in the fact that I write them primarily to please myself. . . . It was my custom as a child, and in fact has been all my life, to day dream romantic stories filled with action and adventure. Many of my written stories are based on these. What suggested them I do not know." Quoted anonymously by Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the reading public* (London: Chatto, 1932), p. 53, from a statement by an author of "best-sellers." "The form of self-indulgence specified here," comments Miss Leavis, "accounts for the immense success of novels like *The way of an eagle*, *The sheik*, *The blue lagoon*, a more detrimental diet than the detective story in so far as a habit of fantasy-spinning will lead to maladjustment in actual life."

The more strictly occupational groups need but brief comment. Readers in the professional group concentrate on subject-classes of better quality, their chief interest being in novels of special setting (notably those of Stribling). More than the average number read the social and political novels, but these still stand seventh in their interest. Love and cheerful stories stand last.

Shop-owners and salesmen show the highest interest listed (index value 2.87) in social and political problems—largely in the works of Frank Norris—and this preference seems the only clear case of correspondence between occupation and reading interest. Outside this their interests are mixed: humor, psychological novels, family chronicles, satire, detective stories. Their indifference is likewise inconsistent: cheerful stories, and novels of special groups and settings.

Readers in the skilled trades prefer humor and satire to other classes, with adventure and detective stories close seconds. The only other subject-class to gain more than the average number of readers among them is social and political problems. They care least for love stories and historical novels.

Unskilled labor as recorded in the South Chicago study is 79 per cent male, but the addition of a good many women in domestic service elsewhere accounts for the prominence of love stories in the interest of this group. Humor and detective stories are even more popular, however, and philosophical problems only slightly less so. No other subjects have more than the average number of readers among them, and novels dealing with special groups and family chronicles have least. In the latter connection it is interesting to note that the percentage married among these readers is fairly low.

Clerks and stenographers present a mixed picture, exhibiting the greatest enthusiasm of any group for humor and for philosophical problems. Satire, psychology, and stories involving special groups also interest them, as do character and love stories to an almost equal extent. Social and political problems and cheerful stories do not.

CLASS-WITH-CLASS RELATIONS

One fact which emerges from all these class comparisons is that certain of the classes behave more like discrete units than others. Some, that is, show fairly consistent variations in all factors, along with basic differences from other classes which seem explicable. Others show basic resemblances to each other, and differences either inexplicable or due to pressure reading, which confuses rather than clarifies class distinctions. These latter either are real classes differing in ways which can be detected only by finer and more subjective tests than those at our command, or they are not real units. Efforts were made to discover which was the case.

Since there was not, as with the quality groups, any consecutive logical order for subject-classes on the basis of the factors studied, no test by gradations of value was possible. The only check upon their soundness was the relative frequency with which classes were read together. It seemed reasonable to suppose that if a subject-class is distinctive and has high interest value for a given group of readers, they will read more *in* it than outside it. Therefore if the class is read more often with itself than with others, its chances of integrity are excellent.

Accordingly the expected frequency of reader-coincidence was figured from the contingency chart mentioned earlier for all paired combinations of the fifteen classes, the actual frequency divided by this number, and the pairs rated by the results.²⁵ There were possible, of course, but fifteen combinations of class with same class, and 105 combinations between different classes. Fourteen of the fifteen same-class pairs fell within the forty-five most frequent of these 120 combinations, an indication that on the whole the groups were sound. The average ratio of actual to expected frequency for same-class pairs was 1.44; for different class pairs, 1.04.

Certain of the group relations need comment. The family-chronicle class may be read oftenest with itself because these stories come out ordinarily in two or three volumes, so that to

²⁵ See Foster, *op. cit.*, Table VIII, p. 112, for the distribution of class pairs.

read more than one of them in a fortnight is not a true case of either author or class repetition. Thus this class probably ought to stand at about half its present frequency-value. That romance should stand as low as thirteenth among the same-group pairs was also surprising, for from an abstract viewpoint this seemed one of the most distinctive divisions. It was read most often with historical novels, however, and next most frequently with adventure. Now, the essential distinction between romance and adventure as the two were here conceived is merely a more exotic setting and a greater emotionalism for romance. Thus the latter is read by both men and women (especially girls too young to be interested in more real emotional situations), and hence the concomitant reading pattern of romance readers will be diverse. Moreover it is possible that certain of the more emotional adventure writers really belong in romance, though they were classified in the former because of their realistic western settings. Undoubtedly the reason for Zane Grey's outranking any other writer is his combination of robust physical violence with a heavy charge of romantic sentiment—it cannot be called real emotion—which gives him an appeal to both masculine and feminine readers. It is still believed, however, that “costume” romance is a class distinct from other adventure.

Humor also, all evidence to the contrary notwithstanding (it ranks 116 in the list of 120 pairs), is abstractly a distinct subject. Thus it became evident that there is a difference between even the most clear-cut logical class and one which attracts consistent reader-groups. The latter sort was the object of our present search.

As the group combinations were further examined, it appeared that with the exception of family chronicles the same-class pairs read oftenest together were all among those classes with low quality value, while the better classes from a literary standpoint were read less often with themselves than with other similar groups of high quality. For example, novels in the character-study class were read with psychological novels, with family chronicles, with philosophical-problem novels, and with spe-

cial group and setting stories oftener than with other character studies.

This impression was further borne out by examination of author-with-author lists²⁶ set up on the same principle as the class pairs above. In the list of authors from the same class read together often enough for significance there were almost no pairs (4 in 82) from above Class 5. Among the significant pairs from different classes the highest third of the list mainly involved members from the better classes. To be sure, the number of readers per author partially determined whether a pair appeared in either of these lists,²⁷ and there were doubtless pairs of too small numerical value for inclusion which would have changed the proportion between the high and low classes somewhat. But inspection of the whole contingency chart supported in general the present figures.

As a final check the authors of greatest popularity, indicated by the proportion of persons reading more than one of their works per fortnight, were listed and examined.²⁸ They were found to come almost entirely from the classes of lower quality. It seems probable, then, that these classes—notably detective, adventure, love, and cheerful stories—are sounder as classes than those above them. Confusion in classification is most evident in those groups divided fairly equally among several quality levels—humor, satire, philosophical-problem novels, stories of special groups, and historical novels. In all these cases there was more difference between high and low levels of the same class than between the average of one class and another.

Some scheme seemed indicated wherein subject-classes would be confined to fewer quality levels, so that certain subjects should be tantamount to better or worse reading. The only source of help was further examination of all other reading done by author groups, whether it was mathematically significant or not.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Table IX, p. 119, for author pairs.

²⁷ See note 11.

²⁸ See Foster, *op. cit.*, Table X, p. 123.

The paired-author list mentioned above included only the two-hundred-odd pairs read by five or more readers, but the chart from which it was drawn showed all possible two-author combinations. Out of 64,416 possible pairs (the square of the number of authors, 254), about one-fourth were actually read together, the majority by only one person. Nevertheless, in some cases all these different combinations with a given author made a consistent pattern. Naturally a detailed discussion of the other-reading patterns for all authors cannot be given here, but it may be said that this is one of the most fruitful sources of light upon subject relations, and if sufficient reading records are ever accumulated to allow mathematical analysis of high-quality author combinations as well as those involving the more widely read, results should be richly significant to students of literature, librarianship, and psychology of personality.

One of the simplest examples of possible class revision as a result of studying concomitant reading patterns is the case of historical novels. As at present set up, this class shows two, possibly three, distinct reader-patterns. Hough and Lew Wallace were read only with adventure and the more active type of romance. Churchill, Page, Wister, and Bacheller were read in varying degrees with romance, with each other, and with some better material, notably novels of setting. Cooper, Scott, Boyd, and Sienkiewicz showed typical student patterns, being read in part with required classics, partly with raw adventure. The rest were read, also in varying degrees, with the high-quality classes; Beck and Atherton with character studies; Wilder with an esoteric selection; and Carolyn Miller and Kenneth Roberts with Hervey Allen, Pearl Buck, and Janet Beith—like themselves authors of the moment. All the last-named five of the historical group were read also with a scattering from novels of special groups and special settings. Thus a redistribution of this group would have been simple: a handful to romance, two to character, and Wilder, Miller, Roberts, and Sienkiewicz to the special-settings class, since the historical class seemed to have no real individuality connected with history. In support

of this last assumption it may be said that inspection of non-fiction reading showed more history read in combination with H. G. Wells, Tarkington, half a dozen adventure writers, and the student-required list, than with any one of the present historical novel group except Bachelier.

Such discoveries as this constituted a strong temptation to remold the entire subject classification. Adequate testing of any new arrangement, however, would require time and effort comparable to that already spent on the study, an undertaking to date impracticable and in some respects one of dubious wisdom. For one thing, the form of available reading data precluded discard of student required reading, and no other method of controlling it promised satisfaction. Since the low-quality authors in better subject-classes and the good writers in adventure and mystery were read almost entirely by young students, the isolation of a new class, "adolescent reading," was considered, which would have embraced most of the present cheerful class also. This arrangement, however, with data in its present form, would have included several writers—Melville, Masfield, Brontë—to whom its low quality-index was patently unfair. The discard of all readers under twenty-one was also considered, but this would have sacrificed what is really a significant age-group in the study, adolescents being the heaviest of all readers. Any practical revision, then, was left for future undertaking.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

When work can be carried further, however, the following suggestions are offered with considerable confidence of their success. Detective, adventure, and love may stand as now organized; romance will be enlarged to include certain of the lower quality writers in the present historical class; the present cheerful class will be relabeled "Adolescent reading," and such writers as Priestley, Armin, Rosman, Hannay, and J. C. Lincoln removed from it to more appropriate locations; humor and satire will be incorporated together, with the better satiric writers and Clemens taken care of as described later. The remaining upper

subject-classes would need more general recasting: (1) The more objective authors, as those who write of special groups of people or special settings, would be incorporated with the more external observers of character; certain of the family chronicle writers would fall here also, notably Undset. (2) Social, political, and economic problems would be widened to include all writers whose work suggests propaganda of any sort. (3) Another class, possibly to be called "Philosophical," would hold those writers with a special theme or interpretation of life, including those now in the upper levels of philosophical problems and such others as Eliot, G. Z. Stone, and the satirists implying criticism of society (France, Clemens). (4) A last psychological class would include those writers dealing with subjective analysis of character. Thus subject-classes would be reduced to a total of ten, increasing the likelihood that distinctions would not be too delicate for measurement by such personal characteristics of readers as library records now include.

Nothing can indicate more clearly than the preceding paragraph that the present study is a beginning rather than a final word. The whole of it will tell practicing librarians little about either fiction or their clients' reading behavior of which they were not already instinctively certain. It is offered merely with two hopes: that it may suggest a possible method of entering objectively that field of literary opinion which has for so long supported the philosophic conflict of literary tastes, and that it may lead to further discoveries as to why people read what they do. For the choice of reading, in subject-classes particularly, lies near to that problem so fascinating and so blind to all who teach literature or purvey books. The present effort looks toward a time when it will be possible to say, "Tell me what you read and I will tell you what you are."

APPENDIX I

AUTHORS CHOSEN AS UNITS FOR STUDY

Authors	Number of Readers	Number of Titles Read	Author's Sex	Author's Nation- ality*	Author's Dates
1. Grey, Zane.....	385	45	M	A	1872—
2. Norris, Kathleen.....	251	39	F	A	1880—
3. Tarkington, Booth.....	233	28	M	A	1869—
4. Alcott, Louisa May.....	232	28	F	A	1832-88
5. Rinehart, Mary Roberts.....	222	33	F	A	1876—
6. Allen, Hervey.....	180	1	M	A	1889—
7. Dickens, Charles.....	162	18	M	B	1812-70
8. Bailey, Temple.....	151	15	F	A	n.d.—
9. Clemens, Samuel L.....	136	6	M	A	1835-1910
10. Ferber, Edna.....	134	15	F	A	1887—
11. Wallace, Edgar.....	133	44	M	B	1875-1932
12. London, Jack.....	133	26	M	A	1876-1916
13. Curwood, James Oliver.....	127	30	M	A	1878-1927
14. Cather, Willa.....	127	12	F	A	1875—
15. Oppenheim, E. Phillips.....	126	48	M	B	1866—
16. Richmond, Grace S.....	121	23	F	A	1866—
17. Barnes, Margaret Ayer.....	118	4	F	A	1886—
18. Stevenson, Robert Louis.....	113	13	M	B	1850-94
19. Lewis, Sinclair.....	111	10	M	A	1885—
20. Kyne, Peter B.....	107	20	M	A	1880—
21. Galsworthy, John.....	107	22	M	B	1867-1933
22. Porter, Gene Stratton.....	106	12	F	A	1868-1924
23. Buck, Pearl S.....	106	6	F	A	1892—
24. Deeping, Warwick.....	104	15	M	B	1877—
25. Dumas, Alexandre.....	100	16	M	O	1802-70
26. Fletcher, Joseph S.....	97	35	M	B	1863—
27. Raine, William McLeod.....	97	30	M	A	1871—
28. Sabatini, Rafael.....	96	23	M	B	1875—
29. Lincoln, Joseph C.....	91	29	M	A	1870—
30. Van Dine, S. S.....	89	12	M	A	1888—
31. Dell, Ethel M.....	86	20	F	B	n.d.—
32. Walpole, Hugh.....	83	21	M	B	1884—
33. Mulford, Clarence.....	82	23	M	A	1883—
34. Wodehouse, P. G.....	80	25	M	B	1881—
35. Fisher, Dorothy Canfield.....	77	13	F	A	1879—
36. Bower, Bertha Muzzey.....	77	34	F	A	1875—
37. Wells, Carolyn.....	75	28	F	A	n.d.—
38. Kipling, Rudyard.....	75	19	M	B	1865-1936
39. De la Roche, Mazo.....	74	9	F	B	1885—
40. Eliot, George.....	73	7	F	B	1819-80
41. Conrad, Joseph.....	73	24	M	B	1857-1924
42. Hill, Grace Livingstone (Lutz)...	72	25	F	A	1865—
43. Terhune, Albert Payson.....	69	17	M	A	1872—
44. Doyle, A. Conan.....	69	15	M	B	1859-1930
45. Biggers, Earl Derr.....	67	10	M	A	1884-1933

* A = American; B = English or Canadian; O = Others.

APPENDIX I—Continued

Authors	Number of Readers	Number of Titles Read	Author's Sex	Author's Nation- ality*	Author's Dates
46. Scott, Sir Walter	66	12	M	B	1771-1832
47. Rohmer, Sax	66	11	M	B	1883—
48. Wharton, Edith	65	21	F	A	1862—
49. Hough, Emerson	65	12	M	A	1857-1923
50. Verne, Jules	64	8	M	O	1828-1905
51. Montgomery, Lucy Maude	64	11	F	B	1874—
52. Farnol, Jeffrey	64	17	M	B	1878—
53. Cooper, James Fennimore	63	7	M	A	1789-1851
54. Porter, Eleanor H.	61	11	F	A	1868-1920
55. Maugham, Somerset	59	13	M	B	1874—
56. Gregory, Jackson	59	15	M	A	1882—
57. Burnett, Frances Hodgson	59	10	F	A	1849-1924
58. Beach, Rex	58	19	M	A	1877—
59. Seltzer, Charles Alden	57	21	M	A	1875—
60. Ostenso, Martha	57	7	F	A	1900—
61. Morrow, Honoré Willsie	57	18	F	A	n.d.—
62. Aldrich, Bess Streeter	57	6	F	A	1881—
63. Pedler, Margaret	56	12	F	A	n.d.—
64. Bromfield, Louis	55	10	M	A	1896—
65. Henry, O. (Sidney Porter)	54	19	M	A	1862-1910
66. Morley, Christopher	53	8	M	A	1890—
67. Douglas, Lloyd	53	3	M	A	1877—
68. Deland, Margaret	52	10	F	A	1857—
69. Hobart, Alice T.	51	1	F	A	1882—
70. Christie, Agatha	50	16	F	B	n.d.—
71. Webster, Jean	48	7	F	A	1876-1916
72. White, Stewart Edward	47	15	M	A	1873—
73. Wells, Herbert George	47	22	M	B	1866—
74. Ruck, Berta	47	15	F	B	n.d.—
75. Gibbs, Philip	46	13	M	B	1877—
76. Churchill, Winston	45	7	M	A	1871—
77. Nordhoff, Charles	44	5	M	A	1887—
78. Miln, Louise Jordan	44	15	F	B	1864—
79. Barrie, Sir James	44	5	M	B	1860—
80. Connor, Ralph	43	33	M	B	1860—
81. Wren, P. C.	41	7	M	B	n.d.—
82. Webster, Henry Kitchell	41	14	M	A	1875-1932
83. Hawthorne, Nathaniel	41	8	M	A	1804-64
84. Tolstoi, Leo	40	7	M	O	1828-1910
85. Lincoln, Natalie Sumner	39	10	F	A	1881—
86. Fox, John, Jr.	39	6	M	A	1862-1919
87. Burroughs, Edgar Rice	39	20	M	B	1875—
88. Austen, Jane	39	5	F	B	1775-1817
89. Hurst, Fannie	38	11	F	A	1889—
90. Bentley, Phyllis	38	4	F	B	1894—
91. Asch, Shalom	38	1	M	A	1880—

APPENDIX I—*Continued*

Authors	Number of Readers	Number of Titles Read	Author's Sex	Author's Nation- ality	Author's Dates
92. Widdemer, Margaret.....	37	12	F	A	n.d.—
93. Parrish, Anne.....	37	6	F	A	1888—
94. Masefield, John.....	37	9	M	B	1878—
95. James, Will.....	37	5	M	A	1892—
96. Freeman, R. Austin.....	36	14	M	B	1862—
97. Ertz, Susan.....	36	7	F	B	n.d.—
98. Bennett, Arnold.....	36	19	M	B	1867-1931
99. De la Pasture, E. M. (Delafield)...	35	10	F	B	1890—
100. Wister, Owen.....	34	5	M	A	1860—
101. Undset, Sigrid.....	34	12	F	O	1882—
102. McCutcheon, George Barr.....	34	11	M	A	1866-1928
103. Bacheller, Irving.....	34	9	M	A	1859—
104. Norris, Charles.....	33	6	M	A	1881—
105. Hendryx, James B.....	33	10	M	A	1880—
106. Wiggin, Kate Douglas.....	32	4	F	A	1856-1923
107. Keeler, Harry Stephen.....	32	9	M	A	1894—
108. Kaye-Smith, Sheila.....	32	10	F	B	n.d.—
109. Johnston, Mary.....	32	9	F	A	1870—
110. Hergesheimer, Joseph.....	32	10	M	A	1880—
111. Rice, Alice Hegan.....	31	9	F	A	1870—
112. Poe, Edgar Allan.....	31	5	M	A	1809-49
113. Beck, Lily Adams (E. Barrington)	31	8	F	B	n.d.-1931
114. Bindloss, Harold.....	30	19	M	B	1866—
115. Miller, Carolyn.....	29	1	F	A	n.d.—
116. Glasgow, Ellen.....	28	8	F	A	1874—
117. Priestley, John Boynton.....	27	8	M	B	1894—
118. Hudson, William Henry.....	27	4	M	B	1841-1922
119. Wright, Harold Bell.....	26	11	M	A	1872—
120. Spearman, Frank.....	26	8	M	A	1859—
121. Jackson, Helen Hunt.....	26	2	F	A	1831-85
122. Hugo, Victor.....	26	5	M	O	1802-85
123. Beith, Janet.....	26	1	F	B	n.d.—
124. Wallace, Lew.....	25	3	M	A	1827-1905
125. Train, Arthur Cheney.....	25	10	M	A	1875—
126. Stribling, Thomas S.....	25	6	M	A	1881—
127. Stern, Gladys Bronwyn.....	25	10	F	B	1890—
128. Sedgwick, Anne Douglas.....	25	8	F	B	1873—
129. Marshall, Edison.....	25	11	M	A	1894—
130. Gale, Zona.....	25	5	F	A	1874—
131. Davis, Richard Harding.....	25	14	M	A	1864-1916
132. Thackeray, William Makepeace...	24	5	M	B	1811-63
133. Sienkiewicz, Henrik.....	24	5	M	O	1846-1916
134. Phillpotts, Eden.....	24	7	M	B	1862—
135. Carroll, Lewis.....	24	2	M	B	1832-98
136. Miller, Alice Duer.....	23	8	F	A	1874—
137. Brontë, Charlotte.....	23	2	F	B	1816-55

APPENDIX I—*Continued*

Authors	Number of Readers	Number of Titles Read	Author's Sex	Author's Nation- ality*	Author's Dates
138. Boyd, James.....	23	3	M	A	1888—
139. Ames, Joseph Bushnell.....	23	9	M	A	1878-1928
140. Morgan, Charles.....	22	1	M	B	1894—
141. Lagerlöf, Selma.....	22	11	F	O	1858—
142. Hardy, Thomas.....	22	9	M	B	1840-1928
143. Haggard, Sir H. Ryder.....	22	8	M	B	1856-1925
144. Feuchtwanger, Lion.....	22	5	M	O	1884—
145. Chambers, Robert W.....	22	15	M	A	1865-1933
146. Carroll, Gladys Hasty.....	22	1	F	A	1904—
147. Stowe, Harriet Beecher.....	21	1	F	A	1811-96
148. McGrath, Harold.....	21	10	M	A	1871-1932
149. Locke, William J.....	21	10	M	B	1863-1930
150. Erskine, John.....	21	6	M	A	1879—
151. Rolvaag, O. E.....	20	5	M	A	1876-1931
152. Nason, Leonard.....	20	7	M	A	1895—
153. Dreiser, Theodore.....	20	7	M	A	1871—
154. Byrne, Donn.....	20	8	M	A	1889-1928
155. Aldrich, Thomas Bailey.....	20	3	M	A	1836-1907
156. Melville, Herman.....	19	2	M	A	1819-91
157. Martin, Helen R.....	19	8	F	A	1868—
158. Hilton, James.....	19	13	M	B	1900—
159. Gibbs, A. Hamilton.....	19	5	M	B	1888—
160. Eggleston, Edward.....	19	3	M	A	1837-1902
161. Corbett, Elizabeth.....	19	2	F	A	1887—
162. Cohen, Octavus Roy.....	19	11	M	A	1891—
163. Suckow, Ruth.....	18	6	F	A	1892—
164. Rosman, Alice Grant.....	18	6	F	B	n.d.—
165. Oemler, Marie Conway.....	18	7	F	A	1879-1932
166. Komroff, Manuel.....	18	3	M	O	1890—
167. Ford, Paul Leicester.....	18	2	M	A	1865-1902
168. Eberhart, Mignon.....	18	6	F	A	1899—
169. Stewart, Alfred W. (A. W. Con- nington).....	17	5	M	B	1880—
170. Remarque, Erich M.....	17	3	M	O	1897—
171. Plum, Mary.....	17	3	F	A	n.d.—
172. Knibbs, Harry.....	17	6	M	A	1874—
173. Baldwin, Faith.....	17	5	F	A	1893—
174. Arnim, Mary von ("Elizabeth")..	17	6	F	B	1866—
175. Young, Francis Brett.....	16	8	M	B	1884—
176. Wentworth, Patricia.....	16	6	F	B	n.d.—
177. Swinnerton, Frank.....	16	7	M	B	1884—
178. Sackville-West, Victoria.....	16	5	F	B	1892—
179. Prouty, Olive Higgins.....	16	4	F	A	1882—
180. Milne, A. A.....	16	4	M	B	1882—
181. Major, Charles.....	16	4	M	A	1856-1913
182. Buchan, John.....	16	6	M	B	1875—

APPENDIX I—Continued

Authors	Number of Readers	Number of Titles Read	Author's Sex	Author's Nation- ality*	Author's Dates
183. Ashton, Helen.....	16	5	F	B	1891—
184. Sinclair, Upton.....	15	5	M	A	1878—
185. Sinclair, May.....	15	9	F	B	n.d.—
186. Reymont, W. S.....	15	4	M	O	1868-1925
187. Reed, Myrtle.....	15	6	F	A	1874-1911
188. Parrish, Randall.....	15	6	M	A	1858-1923
189. Macaulay, Rose.....	15	7	F	B	n.d.—
190. Loring, Emilie.....	15	7	F	A	n.d.—
191. Le Blanc, Maurice.....	15	4	M	O	1864—
192. Fallada, Hans (Ditzen).....	15	1	M	O	1893—
193. Fairbank, Janet Ayer.....	15	5	F	A	n.d.—
194. Burnham, Clara Louise.....	15	8	F	A	1854-1927
195. Barclay, Florence.....	15	3	F	B	1862-1921
196. Young, Stark.....	14	1	M	A	1881—
197. Thompson, Sylvia.....	14	5	F	B	1902—
198. Thayer, Tiffany.....	14	7	M	A	1902—
199. Stone, Grace Zaring.....	14	3	F	A	1896—
200. Smith, Thorne.....	14	5	M	A	1893-1934
201. Roche, Arthur Somers.....	14	5	M	A	1883—
202. Packard, Frank.....	14	4	M	B	1877—
203. Kelland, C. B.....	14	5	M	A	1881—
204. Joyce, James.....	14	5	M	B	1882—
205. Hannay, J. O.....	14	8	M	B	1865—
206. France, Anatole.....	14	8	M	O	1844-1924
207. Dixon, Thomas.....	14	5	M	A	1864—
208. Cullum, Ridgwell.....	14	6	M	A	1867—
209. Young, Emily Hilda.....	13	5	F	B	1880—
210. Vance, Louis Joseph.....	13	5	M	A	1879—
211. Roberts, Kenneth.....	13	4	M	A	1885—
212. Lehmann, Rosamond.....	13	3	F	B	n.d.—
213. Hull, Helen R.....	13	4	F	A	n.d.—
214. Hemingway, Ernest.....	13	6	M	A	1898—
215. Glaspell, Susan.....	13	4	F	A	1882—
216. Garstin, Crosbie.....	13	3	M	B	1887-1930
217. Brush, Katherine.....	13	5	F	A	1902—
218. Blasco-Ibañez, Vincente.....	13	7	M	O	1867-1928
219. Balzac, Honoré.....	13	11	M	O	1799-1850
220. Atherton, Gertrude.....	13	9	F	A	1857—
221. Arlen, Michael.....	13	3	M	B	1895—
222. Wilder, Thornton.....	12	3	M	A	1897—
223. Rogers, Samuel.....	12	1	M	A	1894—
224. Peterkin, Julia.....	12	4	F	A	1880—
225. Maupassant, Guy de.....	12	5	M	O	1850-93
226. McFee, William.....	12	7	M	B	1881—
227. McCarthy, Justin Huntley.....	12	2	M	B	1860—
228. Defoe, Daniel.....	12	1	M	B	1661-1731

APPENDIX I—Continued

Authors	Number of Readers	Number of Titles Read	Author's Sex	Author's Nation- ality*	Author's Dates
229. Dane, Clemence (Ashton).....	12	10	F	B	n.d.—
230. Burnett, W. R.....	12	3	M	A	1899—
231. Bottome, Phyllis.....	12	5	F	B	1884—
232. Blackmore, Richard D.....	12	4	M	B	1825-1900
233. Woolf, Virginia.....	11	3	F	B	1882—
234. Stockton, Frank.....	11	6	M	A	1834-1902
235. Norris, Frank.....	11	3	M	A	1870-1902
236. Nathan, Robert.....	11	3	M	A	1894—
237. King, Basil.....	11	8	M	A	1859-1928
238. Kennedy, Margaret.....	11	2	F	B	1896—
239. Hueston, Ethel.....	11	5	F	A	1889—
240. Heyward, Du Bose.....	11	4	M	A	1885—
241. Crawford, F. Marion.....	11	9	M	A	1854-1909
242. Collins, Wilkie.....	11	2	M	B	1824-99
243. Benson, R. H.....	11	6	M	B	1871-1914
244. Baum, Vicki.....	11	2	F	O	1888—
245. Austin, Anne.....	11	1	F	A	1895—
246. Adams, Herbert.....	11	3	M	B	1874—
247. Wilson, Harry Leon.....	10	8	M	A	1867—
248. Poole, Ernest.....	10	6	M	A	1880—
249. Page, Thomas Nelson.....	10	3	M	A	1853-1922
250. La Farge, Oliver.....	10	3	M	A	1901—
251. Jameson, Storm.....	10	5	F	B	1897—
252. Hawkins, Anthony Hope.....	10	2	M	B	1863-1933
253. Chamberlain, George Agnew.....	10	7	M	A	1879—
254. Burke, Thomas.....	10	2	M	B	1887—

